1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 302 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 182 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 [343] The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject [533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom [585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[177] [1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India. Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement.

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanië), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies.

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow.

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles'

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585
[515] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older
[602] than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

[515] [602] [292] [301] [292] [342] [778] [178] [533] [614] [782]

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as maciṇi and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as maciṇi and mammā, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

[605] [834]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
● [515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.
264

As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[241] the housepeople under the management of the master of the house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts